

## VALENTYN'S ACCOUNT OF MALACCA.

(Resumed from p. 138 of *Journal No. 15 of June, 1885.*)

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Upon hearing this, Mr. MATELIEF, growled not a little at the Bandahara, and threaten'd to mention it to the King, who, he was sure, would order more troops at once. The King having promised him some 1,200 men, MATELIEF once more landed with 300 men of his own troops and 800 Malays, fortified a brick house, built a bridge over the river, and took the convent; but a short time afterwards requiring some more Malay troops, and the King having sent him only 200 men, he could not do anything else but try and starve out the town; he landed some more guns to enable his troops, covered by some rough wooden intrenchments, to approach the town gradually, though they were still very much exposed to the fire of the Portuguese Forts ST. DOMINGO, MADRE DE DEOS, ST. JAGO, and to that of the convent of St. PAULO. In the meantime, the Governor, ANDREA FURTADO, had been fortunate enough to introduce secretly into the place some people from the neighbourhood, whilst, a short time before our troops had landed, two galleys coming from Pahang, had smuggled into the place a small detachment of 60 European soldiers. On the other hand, many of our troops got sick, partly from overwork and partly from excess in drinking arrack and eating fruit; finally two vessels called the *United Countries* and the *Erasmus* coming from the Maas and arriving off Malacca on the 14th July, brought relief to our troops. He now had eleven vessels with him, viz., the *Orange*, the *Middelburg*, the *Mauritius*, the *Black Lion*, the *White Lion*, the *Great Sun*, the *Nassau*, the *Amsterdam*, the *Small Sun*, and the two vessels mentioned as coming from the Maas, and besides these he had seven small vessels. Now and then were sorties made, some from the town, but without any result, neither did our troops make much progress, and there were daily many sick people among them. This lasted till the month of August,

when Mr. *MATELIEF* got the news that a strong Portuguese fleet was approaching.

No sooner had *MATELIEF* received that intelligence than he gave orders to move the artillery back again from Campo Klin and to re-embark all the baggage. Five or six days before, having made a general inspection of his troops, he found they still numbered 1,200 men, among whom were some 32 wounded and 162 sick. Yet, he sailed with these troops on the 17th August, and about noon fell in with the Portuguese fleet, which he fired upon until nightfall. He found that the fleet consisted of 16 heavy galleons, 4 galleys, 1 caravel, and 14 other craft, manned by 3,754 Europeans and about twice as many natives, with which it was intended to conquer Atjeh, Malakka, Djohor, Pahang, Patani, Bantam and Amboina.

On the 18th the *Nassau*, before she could weigh anchor, was boarded by one of the enemy's vessels, whereupon the ships *Orange* and *Middelburg* hastened to relieve her; but in their hurry these two very awkwardly contrived to get entangled with each other. *ALVARO CARVALHO*, the Portuguese Vice-Admiral, perceiving this, at once boarded the *Middelburg*, at the same time Don *ENRIQUE DE NORINHA*'s galleon boarded the *Orange* on one side whilst Don *DUARTE DE GUERRA*'s galleon attacked it right forward on the bows.

The *Mauritius*, seeing this, went immediately for Don *DUARTE*, whereupon a fierce battle ensued, in which the Portuguese, as well as our men, fought valiantly.

At last the *Mauritius*, set fire to Don *DUARTE*'s galleon and thus freed itself, but the *Middelburg* remaining entangled with *ALVARO CARVALHO*'s and Don *DUARTE*'s galleons, all these three vessels were destroyed by fire, though most of the crew of the *Middelburg* were rescued. *ALVARO CARVALHO* and 40 or 50 of his crew, who tried to save themselves in one of the boats of the *Middelburg*, were all killed by the crew of the *Orange*; even *CARVALHO* was not spared, though *MATELIEF* did his utmost to rescue him. *MATELIEF*, who with his vessel the *Orange* had boarded Don *ENRIQUE DE NORINHA*'s galleon and had possessed himself of her two flags, summoned him to haul down and to surrender. *NORINHA*, lowering his last flag, conveyed the impression that he was about to surrender, and

by dint of this stratagem, escaped out of the hands of his enemies. However, his galleon had been riddled by cannon-balls and he had lost the greater part of his crew.

The *Nassau* was set on fire by her two Portuguese assailants, but her whole crew were rescued, save six men who had been killed in the action. We lost in this engagement off Cabo Rachado, 2 vessels, 24 men killed, and a great many wounded.

The Portuguese too lost 2 vessels, but they had about five or six hundred men killed, amongst whom were the following nobles, heads and captains of the navy, viz.:—Vice-Admiral ALVARO CARVALHO and FERNANDO DA SILVA, his relation; DUARTE DE GUERRA, captain of a galleon; DIEGO ORTEZ DA FAVORRA, DON MANUEL MASCARENHAS, MANUEL D'ALBUKERKE, SEBASTIAAN DI MIRANDI, ANTONIO DI SILVEIRA, DON ENRIQUE DE CASTRO, MANUEL DE MELLO and also two Spanish Dons on board of the Viceroy's vessel. But for the rowing galleys, their loss would have been heavier still, for, assisted by those vessels, they were able to move about even in a dead calm. MATELIEF resolved on the 19th to attack the fleet again; weighed anchor on the 20th and got engaged on the 22nd with almost all his vessels, viz., the *Orange*, *Mauritius*, *Witte Leeuw* (White Lion), *Zwarte Leeuw* (Black Lion), *Erasmus* and the *Groote Son* (Great Sun).

But as the enemy continually retreated, our vessels were unable to do them much damage.

During the night of the 24th the Portuguese fleet changing its tactics, made for ours very suddenly. This produced a panic amongst our people at first, the more so as it was night more or less and thus our vessels got very much separated from each other. Soon after, however, they joined company again, and all running before the wind, the enemy had to give up the pursuit, and returned to Malacca. With regard to the Portuguese commanders and captains of the navy and the size of their vessels, I have found a record of the following, viz.:—

<i>Don Paulo de Portugal's</i>	ship of 1000 tons.	[ral's vessel.)
<i>Don Martin d'Alphonso</i>	„ 1100 „	(The Vice-Admi-
<i>Don Pedro Marenam</i>	„ 800 „	

<i>Sebastiaan Soarez</i>	„	700	„
<i>Don Francisco de Norinha</i>	„	700	„
<i>Don Francisco de Sotomajor</i>	„	700	„
<i>Antonio de Souza Fulcon</i>	„	500	„

Besides 3 galleys and 12 barges.

The names and tonnage of those of our vessels which were still left are the following, viz. :—

The <i>Orange</i> of 700 tons (the Admiral's vessel.)			
„ <i>Groote Son</i>	(Great Sun)	of 500 tons.	
„ <i>Erasmus</i>		„ 600	„
„ <i>Vereenigde Landen</i>	(United Countries.)	„ 500	„
„ <i>Mauritius</i>		„ 700	„
„ <i>Amsterdam</i>		„ 800	„
„ <i>Swarte Leeuw</i>	(Black Lion)	„ 600	„
„ <i>Witte Leeuw</i>	(White Lion)	„ 600	„
„ <i>Kleine Son</i>	(Small Sun)	„ 200	„

With these vessels, Mr. MATELIEF sailed to Djohor on the 24th of August, and the next day he lost sight of the Portuguese fleet, which returned to Malacca. On the 13th of September, he entered the river of Djohor where the King came to meet him and welcomed him.

Mr. MATELIEF sailed on the 18th ditto to Batu Sawar to settle several urgent matters, among which the chief was to hurry on the King to fortify his town (which could easily be done, if the Malays would but work); secondly to supply his fleet with provisions; in the third place to bind the King to send some prahus to Atsjien and Malakka, to inquire whether Dutch vessels had arrived there, and finally to try whether gunpowder could be got somewhere. But the Malays wanted us to fortify their town, and gunpowder (even of the worst quality) was not to be had for love or money. So Mr. MATELIEF discovered, that it was simply a waste of time to have any more dealings with this King and the Malays.

Batu Sawar is a town situated 5 or 6 miles up the river of Djohor, which is at that place very beautiful, broad and deep, and has therefore a supply of fresh water. The greater

part of the country is low, and the houses are built on piles along the river. There are two fortresses—one called Batu Sawa, one Kota di Sabrang.

Batu Sawar is about 1,300 paces in circumference, almost square, and is fortified with palissades 40 feet high, standing close together; it is further provided with some inferior out-works. It is built on level ground, close to the river, a quarter of an hour's walk from the nearest hills, and the river could easily be conducted to the place. Inside, it is thickly inhabited and filled with attap houses; but those of the King and some of the courtiers are built of wood. Kota Sabrang is about four or five hundred paces in circumference and also is almost square. There are about three or four thousand men able to bear arms within Batu Sawar and Kota Sabrang, though most of the people live outside the fortress. The whole of the land belongs to the King but that does not matter much, for if people apply for it, they can get as much as they like; it looks very fertile and abounding in trees. Admiral *MATELIEF* gave the King several plans and good suggestions for the fortification of the place, but the Malays were too indolent to work. Hence, perceiving that it was beyond his means to conquer Malacca just then, and that thereby the first clause of the recently concluded treaty became void, *MATELIEF* begged the King to grant the Dutch a place for their residence. The King gave him permission to choose any place in the country that he liked, provided, however, that he should be bound to fulfil the other articles of the treaty.

The King on the other hand solicited of *MATELIEF* a piece of land in Malacca when it should have been taken, which was granted to him on proper terms. This however looked very much like selling the skin of the bear, before it had been caught. The prince furthermore asked for the loan of some hundreds of rix dollars, nay even one thousand, which sum he would repay in such goods as we might wish, promising at the same time that he would not ask for any more money, until the first loan was repaid. Secondly he demanded that the Ministers of the States should assist him against all his enemies, either on the offensive or the defensive, and finally that, on his request,

they should assist him also with ships, troops, guns, etc., and that *MATELIEF* should remain there with his fleet until the arrival from Holland of the other vessels. Mr. *MATELIEF* replied to the King that a thousand rix dollars did not matter much to the Dutch, and that, as he (Mr. *MATELIEF*) did not care to have that amount mentioned in a treaty which he had to conclude for the Ministers of the States he would give it to him from his own private funds provided that the prince would allow him and his countrymen to trade in the country. So the prince withdrew this first clause. As for the second clause, *MATELIEF* said that, the Ministers of the States not being in the habit of declaring war unrighteously, they could only promise to defend him against his enemies, but, as for acting on the offensive, they would never join him against any other power than the Portuguese. And with regard to the third clause, he said that our vessels, etc., should always be at his service. The King then pointed out to our people a piece of land 30 fathoms square. Mr. *MATELIEF* was very much astonished at this, and told him, that though it would do for the present, we should by and by require a much larger place for our trade in his country.

When the King requested him to remain there until the arrival of other vessels, *MATELIEF* convinced him that it was not in his power, as two vessels had to go to Holland in December, but that he would certainly remain there till December, so as to protect him as long as possible.

Thereupon this second and subsequent treaty was signed in Batu Sawar on the 23rd of September. It seems that about this time Don *ANDREA FURTADO DE MENDOZA* was succeeded as Governor of Malakka by one Don *ANTONIO DE MENESEZ*, a son of Don *DUARTE DE MENESEZ*, late Viceroy of India, but he did not feel inclined to accept the Governorship unless the Viceroy first made peace with the king of Djohor.

Our Admiral having received the news that several store-ships, sailing under convoy of some Portuguese men-of-war, were on their way to Malakka, left Djohor on 17th October with the intention of attacking this convoy.

Arriving near Malakka he counted 7 vessels, viz., the Vice-



roy's vessel, called *La Conception*, the best armed of all the vessels and commanded by Captain Don MANUEL DE MASCARENHAS; the galleon *St. Nicolas*, with 19 brass and 5 iron guns, under the command of Don FERNANDO DI MASCARENHAS, who had his brother Don PEDRO with him; the *St. Simoan*, Captain ANDREE PESOA; the *Todos os Santos*, Captain Don FRANCISCO DE NORINHA; the *Santa Cruz*, under the command of Vice-Admiral SEBASTIAN SOAREZ; then another one, the largest of all the vessels, with Don PAULO DE PORTUGAL as Captain and one more, much smaller, the *St. Antonio*, Captain ANTONIO DE SOUZA FALCAON.

By order of our Admiral, the vessels *Orange*, *Groote Son* and *Vereenigde Landen* were to attack jointly one of the Portuguese vessels; whilst our other vessels had to prevent the enemy from coming near. They thereupon resolved to attack in the night of the 21st the Portuguese Vice-Admiral's vessel, but a calm compelled them to postpone it till the next day.

On the morning of the 22nd he attacked the enemy in the roads, and captured the *St. Nicolas*, which could not be prevented by the Viceroy; but by the carelessness of our people this ship got free again, though Mr. MATELIEF had already given orders to set fire to her.

In the meantime, the *Groote Son*, *Swarte Leeuw* and *Mauritius* had boarded the *St. Simoan* and after having captured her they burnt her with her whole crew. The *Erasmus* attacked the *Santa Cruz*, but was at first beaten back; the *Mauritius* then coming to her assistance, they jointly captured the said vessel, a fine galleon of 11 brass and 4 iron guns.

Among the many Portuguese nobles who fell in this battle, were Don FERNANDO DE MASCARENHAS, Captain of the *St. Nicolas*, and his brother Don PEDRO; Don FRANCISCO DE NORINHA, Captain of the *Todos os Santos*; BARTHOLOME DE FONSECA, JORGE GALVAN and Don PEDRO DE MASCARENHAS son of Don GERONIMO DE MASCARENHAS. Altogether they lost 521 Europeans, and on the 23rd our people captured another galleon, the *St. Simoan*, in which they seized 14 brass and 2 iron guns, 3,000 lbs of gunpowder, and a great quantity of wine and provisions.

We took in this battle 4 galleons, almost without a loss worth mentioning; the only deplorable casualty that happened being, that 75 men of our people (among whom were KLAAS JANSOON MELKNAP, skipper of the *Witte Leeuw*, the supercargo JAUQUES DE COLENAAR, and the subfactor HANS VAN HAGEN) who went on board the *Santa Cruz* with the intention of plundering, were blown up in her and perished miserably.

Three more ships of the enemy which ran aground were destroyed by fire.

The whole fleet of this Viceroy Don MARTIN ALFONSO DE CASTRO (youngest son of Don ANTONIO DE CASCAIS) which had arrived only the year before, consisted of 18 galleons, 4 galleys, 1 caravel and 23 barges, manned by 3,700 Europeans, of whom 2,954 were soldiers and 730 sailors, besides the black crews who numbered many more; and it was with this fleet and these troops that he intended to conquer the whole of Southern India and to punish all the refractory princes and States.

The following are the names and particulars of the vessels of the said fleet :—

1st—The *Nossa Senhora de Concepcion* of 1,000 tons, Captain MANUEL DE MASCARENHAS, with 24 guns and 180 European soldiers, besides a number of European and black sailors. On the 29th of October this galleon was destroyed by fire off Malakka, either by MATELIEF or by the Viceroy himself for fear that we should do it.

2nd—The *San Salvador* of 900 tons, Captain ALVARO DE CARVALHO, with 18 guns and 180 European soldiers, besides the European and black sailors. Mr. MATELIEF burnt this galleon on the 18th of August off Cabo Rachado.

3rd—The *San Nicolas* of 800 tons, Captain Don FERNANDO DE MASCARENHAS, with 19 brass and 3 iron guns and 180 soldiers; Mr. MATELIEF defeated this galleon off Malakka on 22nd October, in which engagement all



the crew excepting 8 men were killed. The Viceroy himself ordered her to be destroyed by fire on 29th October.

4th—The galleon of Don ENRIQUE DE NORINHA, of 900 tons, 14 brass guns and 160 soldiers, captured by MATELIEF off Cabo Rachado on the 18th of August.

5th—The *Santa Cruz* of 600 tons, Captain SEBASTIAN SOAREZ, with 10 brass guns and 80 European soldiers, it was plundered and burnt by MATELIEF off Malakka on 22nd October.

6th—The *San Simoan* of 900 tons, Captain Don FRANCISCO DE SOTOMAJOR, with 16 brass and 2 iron guns and 160 European soldiers. This was taken, plundered and destroyed by fire off Malakka on 23rd of October.

7th—The *Todos os Santos* of 800 tons, Captain Don FRANCISCO DE NORINHA with 130 soldiers, this vessel was sunk with her whole crew.

8th—Don DUARTE DE GUERRA's galleon, of 1,000 tons, with 15 brass guns and 108 European soldiers, destroyed by fire off Cabo Rachado on the 16th of August.

9th—The *Nossa Senhora de Soccoro* of 800 tons, Captain GUTIERRE DE MONROY, with 15 brass guns and 140 European soldiers.

10th—The *Don Antonio* of 240 tons, Captain ANTONIO DE SOUZA FALCAON, with 10 brass guns and 47 European soldiers; she caught fire off Malakka on 29th October.

11th—The *Nossa Senhora das Mercês* of 800 tons, Captain Don ALVARO DE MENESEZ, with 14 guns and 120 European soldiers.

12th—The galleon of JACOMO DE MARAIS SARMENTO of 800 tons, 14 brass guns and 80 European soldiers.

13th—JAN PINTO DE MORAIS' galleon of 800 tons, with 15 brass pieces and 140 European soldiers.

14th—JERONIMO BOTELHO's galleon of 300 tons, with 12 brass guns and 100 European soldiers.

15th—MANUEL BARETTO's galleon of 500 tons, with 12 brass guns and 100 European soldiers.

16th—The *San Martinho* of 800 tons, Captain DON LUIS LOBO, with 22 brass guns and 150 European Soldiers. This was lost off Manaar in Ceylon.

17th—Captain DON PAULO DE PORTUGAL's galleon, of 1,200 tons with 1,200 guns. This had no soldiers but many merchants and passengers bound for China. The Viceroy destroyed this vessel off Malakka on 29th October.

18th—The galleon of Captain DON ANTONIO DE MENESEZ (now Governor of Malakka). This vessel too had no soldiers but many merchants and passengers also bound for China but was lost off Cape Comorin.

One of the four great royal galleys was very badly damaged off Cabo Rachado; 854 European soldiers, besides a great number of sailors and rowers were on board of the said four galleys and twenty-three barges.

In short nine out of these eighteen galleons were lost, a very heavy loss indeed for the Portuguese, who had had the presumption to think of subduing the whole of India, with that fleet, whereas this siege of Malakka by MATELIEF cost them about 6,000 men.

MATELIEF sent word to the Viceroy offering to set at liberty all Portuguese prisoners in exchange for all Dutch prisoners.

He merely requested a ransom for the Portuguese of noble extraction, to which the Viceroy made objections; upon which Mr. MATELIEF sent him word, that, if the Hollanders (numbering but four or five) were not set at liberty that very night, he, would early next morning, issue an order to throw overboard about two hundred Portuguese prisoners, adding at the same time, that probably DON ANDREA FURTADO had given him (the Viceroy) such unreasonable advice, so as to make him despised by the whole world.

It was decided by our people that a ransom of 6,000 ducats should be paid for the following prisoners, viz. :—ANDREA PES-

SOA and SEBASTIAAN SOAREZ (both captains of galleons), then two cousins of SOAREZ, then JOAN BRAVO who commanded the galleon of DON ANTONIO DE MENESEZ, the Governor of Malakka, then one DON FERNANDO DEL MERCADO, a merchant and finally a priest.

Admiral MATELIEF was not pleased with this decision, for he did not like to introduce the practice of ransoming men into India, but it was carried by a majority of votes, under pretext, that this ransom, when distributed among the sailors, would make them in the future more willing to fight.

When up to the 23th of October not one Hollander had yet come back, MATELIEF convoked an extraordinary meeting of the Council to reconsider the question of throwing the Portuguese overboard; but whilst they were still deliberating, two prahus approached our vessels containing three Dutchmen, who declared that there were really no more Hollanders here in Malakka, but that there were still four or five more in the fleet off the Nicobar islands. Whereupon the Portuguese were liberated and landed on the 1st of November. One DON RODRIGO D'ACOSTA having agreed to take a letter to the Viceroy of India in which he was requested to set at liberty and to send to Djohor all the Hollanders who were still prisoners in India, our Admiral gave him a passport for a whole year.

About this time (the 12th November) Mr. MATELIEF ordered the ship *Kleine Son* to take back the ambassador whom the Prince of Keidah had sent to him to invoke his assistance against the Portuguese, whilst he (the Prince) should attack them by land. Though MATELIEF knew that this same Prince had welcomed the Portuguese when they passed his country and that he only came because he (MATELIEF) had beaten the Portuguese, still he promised him his assistance.

He first despatched thither the *Amsterdam* with the supercargo JASPER JANSON, arriving himself on the 19th before KEIDAH. The King having warned him on the 24th that there were two boats in the river filled with Portuguese and black soldiers, MATELIEF despatched thither one galley and one barge under the orders of PIETER VAN DER DUSSEN who soon returned with only five Portuguese, who had left Malacca thirteen days

before and had been chased by Malay pirates.

MATELIEF finding that this little King was deadly afraid of the Portuguese and that his help would not be of any value, left the place again on the 27th. Super-cargo CORNELIS FRANCX, who was factor at Djohor in 1607, behaved so ill in September of that year, that Fiscaal APINS was at a loss what to do. When MATELIEF, on his arrival off the river of Pahang on 11th November, 1607, heard from the King that both the Viceroy of India and the Governor of Malakka had died, he decided not to stop long and sailed from there on 16th.

Fiscaal MARTINUS APINS left Djohor that year and informed MATELIEF that if no vessels came for the relief of Djohor, the King would certainly make peace with the Portuguese.

In December, he had also heard at Bantam that the Portuguese had destroyed Djohor by fire and that Rajah Sabrang, who lived at Lingga, was strengthening himself at that place. ABRAHAM VAN DEN BROEK was super-cargo of our Company at Djohor in December, 1608; a month previously our people had captured, off Malakka, a Portuguese carrack. When in January, 1609, Admiral PIETER WILLEMSOON VERHOEVEN was at Djohor, he thought proper to give VAN DEN BROEK the command of the vessel *De Roode Leeuw* and to put in his place super-cargo JACQUES OBELAAR, together with the secunde or sub-factor ABRAHAM WILLEMSOON DE RYK, the connoisseur in diamonds HECTOR ROOS, with three assistants and some other people; at the same time he ordered the *Roode Leeuw* and the yacht *Griffioen* to anchor at the mouth of the river until the 1st of July, in order to protect the King against the Portuguese. Such was the course of things here in the reign of king ALAWADDIN III, who died in 1610.

He was succeeded in the same year by Sulthan ABDULLAH SJAII, who was the 17th Malay king, the 5th of Djohor, and the 11th Mohamedan king. This king reigned eleven years over this people, from 1610 to 1621, and but very few events of importance happened during his Government.

In 1616 he was reputed for being attached to us more than any other Indian Prince, for which reason he and his country had to suffer very much from our mutual enemy.

He was succeeded in 1621 by Sulthan MAHMOOD SJAII, the

18th Malay king, 6th of Johor and 12th Mohamedan king. He reigned but three years, and was then succeeded in 1624 by Sulthan ABDULJALIL SJAII, who sent the princes Rajah INDRA LELLAH and MAGAT MANCHUR as ambassadors to Holland.

He was the 19th Malay king, the 7th of Djohor and the 13th Mohamedan king, and reigned 47 years, viz., from 1624 to 1671.

It appears that during his reign the Empire of Maningcabo was subject to his authority. Our Company tried over and over again to build a fortress there (Admiral VERHOEVEN being the first one who did so), but they never would allow it.

Though our first attempt to conquer Malakka (made under Admiral MATELIEF in 1606) had proved unsuccessful, our Company, still hoping to be some day the rulers at that place, constantly gave their thoughts to it. The seventeen Directors\* had previously given orders in 1623, to besiege Malakka again, but nothing could then be done.

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\* The board of administration of the Dutch E. I. Company consisted of 17 deputies, three of which were deputed by Amsterdam.—The Translator.